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**GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE OF CITIES: Abstracts And Bibliography**  
**Part VII: Urban Government**

Morris Zeitlin

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## GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE OF CITIES:

## ABSTRACTS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

## PART VII: URBAN GOVERNMENT

by

Morris Zeitlin

## INTRODUCTION

Most social scientists regard society as an aggregate of social institutions which are syntheses of psycho-social interaction and products of compromise between the different viewpoints within society. Social institutions, they hold, especially government, are therefore above social classes. Government functions, they think, to provide the needed social goods and services that private enterprise cannot provide and to impartially settle social conflicts. Because they do not observe social phenomena within the context of history, they fail to see and tend to obscure the class structure of society and the emergence, role, and function of social institutions and government as the conditioning and coercive tools the economically and politically dominant class uses to defend its interests and rule.

The literature on urban government has not addressed itself to a scientific historical analysis of the basic meaning of urban government and its political role in modern times. Rather, it has engaged mostly in argument for reform of the functionally archaic system of fragmented government within the essential unity of the increasingly fusing and growing metropolitan regions.

Proposals for such reforms have come, chiefly, from businessmen supported by public officials, city planners, and social scientists and critics. The businessmen want to reduce the complexity and cost of doing business across municipal boundaries. In their support, public officials argue for metropolitan government to provide needed region-wide services. And their advocates among city planners, social scholars and critics argue that the lack of central metropolitan governments is responsible for the deterioration in the quality of urban life.

## URBAN GOVERNMENT

## ABSTRACTS OF SELECTED WORKS

Adrian, Charles R. Governing Urban America -- Structure, Politics, and Administration. New York: McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 1955. 441pp. Bibliography.

A political science textbook. Borrowing materials from urban sociology, social psychology and other related disciplines, the author examines urban government as a political process.

In its twenty-two chapters, the work sketches the history of American cities; reviews theories of local self-government; and describes forms of municipal government, intergovernmental relations in metropolitan regions, municipal laws, municipal administration and its functions, financing of city government, and city planning. One chapter discusses "The City and Organized Crime."

Banfield, Edward C. and James Q. Wilson. City Politics. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press and the M.I.T. Press, 1963. 362pp. Tables. Charts.

Unlike other writers who treat city government as "administration," the authors view it as a political process and consider the "large forces that determine the content of policy." Because the American constitutional structure affords special-interest groups to present their needs to, bargain with, and force compromises from governmental officials, city administration and politics interweave. Therefore, to understand city government, one must examine city classes and groups, the roles they play in city politics, and the way their conflicts are, or are not, resolved.

The first of the volume's four parts analyzes "The Nature of City Politics." The second describes "The Structure of City Politics." The third discusses "Political Forms and Styles" of the political machine, political factions and factional alliances, and of reform politics. The fourth examines "Some Political Roles" as those played by city employees, businessmen, organized labor, Negroes, voters, and the press.

Some of the authors' observations, conclusions, and predictions:

1. As income levels rise and government welfare benefits increase, the need for personal political favors and protection diminishes. Based on ward patronage, machine politics therefore tend to decline, and the middle-class ideal of efficient, honest, public-service oriented politics tends to ascend. The new-style politics favor authority in the hands of technical experts and statesmen, and beget a popular hostility toward professional politicians.

2. The decline of ward-based political machines will reduce opportunities for "lower-classes" and Negroes to enter politics, slow down the rate at which Negroes will acquire political skills, and retard the assimilation of the Negro minority. But the continuing middle-class exodus to the suburbs will increase the "lower-class" ratio in the population of cities and keep the old-style political machine alive. The nationally growing middle class, however, will use its control of the state and federal governments to starve the political machines and force the "lower class" of the cities to play politics on its terms.

3. The ascendancy of new-style politics will connect city with national issues and increase the influence of the press, civic associations, national professional associations, and the leadership of the middle and upper classes.

4. Middle-class politics will tend to centralize authority in the hands of the city executive. But reluctance to centralized authority, deeply ingrained in American culture and in the "lower class," will keep this tendency in check.

5. Unlike the old-style politician whose job- and favor-dispensing machine secures his vote-getting power, the insecure new-style politician must create voter support through generous public deeds. Therefore, the shift from old- to new-style politics will be both a cause and an effect of ambitious and expensive public programs.

6. The efficient administration that the new-style politics will introduce will not solve the problems of cities. These cannot be solved because the forces that are changing American cities -- technology, industry and population shifts, consumer income and tastes -- "are all largely beyond the control of government in a free society. Given these constraints, the future of cities is probably beyond the reach of policy."

Banfield, Edward C. Big City Politics: A Comparative Guide to the Political Systems of Atlanta, Boston, Detroit, El Paso, Los Angeles, Miami, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Seattle. New York: Random House, 1965. 149pp.

City problems go unsolved, Banfield states, not for lack of resources, technical knowledge, or organization, but for the presence of political conflicts between different class interests. "The political system of a city is the set of formal and informal arrangements...by which (the spokesmen of a public) decide -- or, it may be, fail to decide -- what is to be done." To understand cities, therefore, one needs to understand how their political systems work. The author presents condensed reports on the politics of several large American cities written by graduate students for the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University. Each report briefly describes the

characteristics of the city's population and economic base, the formal organization of the city's government (laws, offices, interest groups, voting procedures, etc.) and its informal arrangements, the operation of the electoral system, and the role that business, labor, minority groups, and the press play in the politics of the city. He compares and analyzes these political systems in the light of theories developed in his City Politics (see abstract) -- an earlier work.

Some of the author's observations and conclusions:

1. There is no consistent cause-and-effect relationship in all city political systems. The same effects "for what appear to be the same causes" may hold for some cities but not for the others.
2. The content of city policy seems to be influenced by how well government power is centralized, formally and informally. High formal centralization does not assume informal, extra-legal, influence which is the more important of the two. But "where ample legal authority is joined with substantial extra-legal influence" there policy content is more effective and predictable.
3. The per-capita level of a city's expenditures does not reflect its government's effectiveness. It may measure different things in different cities. It "might be low because the problems a city has to cope with are relatively simple... or because the income and tastes of the citizens favor a low level."
4. There seems to be no clear link between the content of government policy and the quality of life in a city. Despite the different economic and cultural histories of cities and the different forms and styles of their governments, big cities seem to reach a similar quality of life.
5. The cities studied have some characteristic similarities:
  - (a) On the whole, they are honestly and ably run. The quality of their governments has been improving despite the exodus of "good government"-minded middle-income groups and the large influx of less civic-minded poor immigrants.
  - (b) They have a remarkable ability to manage and contain even the most bitter and deep seated conflicts.
  - (c) Their politics are generally conservative. They seldom elect radicals, experiment with unorthodox schemes, or support anti-democratic extremists.
  - (d) Their municipal services are low-level.
  - (e) Their renewal projects and public works "are almost always for business-serving purposes, such as to dislodge 'undesirables' from areas adjacent to the downtown business district and replace them with 'good customers'...."

Several factors account for these similarities:

(a) The many civil-service professionals with tenure tend to advance honesty and competence in big-city government.

(b) The separation between the local and the state and national political systems forces candidates for local office to concentrate on local issues and keep state and national issues out of local politics.

(c) The chief factor, however, is the nature of the electoral forces. "Where only two candidates oppose each other...the logic of the situation compels them to take positions calculated to attract at least 51 per cent of the vote." This tends to exclude extremists and create coalitions of moderates.

(d) The home-owning working class tends to be conservative in local affairs wishing to keep expenditures down in order to prevent property taxes from going up.

Danielson, Michael N. Federal-Metropolitan Politics and the Commuter Crisis. New York: Columbia University Press, 1965. 244pp.

Other studies treat metropolitan politics inside the metropolis, this study deals with politics between its governmental components and the higher levels of government. It examines the political relationships developed between the major metropolitan areas and the state and federal governments in drafting the Transportation Act of 1958 and the mass transportation laws of the Housing Act of 1961. The author describes the roles played in this process by the central city, the suburbs, the states, the urban congressmen, and federal officials; analyzes the attitudes to federal intervention in regional affairs; and scrutinizes the channels of information and influence between the metropolis and the national government, and the impact of federal-urban interaction on politics at the metropolitan and national levels. Because the New York region played a key role in drafting this legislation, Danielson dwells especially on the interaction between New York and Washington. Focusing on this interaction, the author thinks, "does not pose serious obstacles to generalization about federal-metropolitan politics. Despite its size and complexity, the (New York) region's political processes are hardly singular." He offers some hypotheses about the nature of federal-metropolitan politics and the pattern of federal-metropolitan relations in the next decade.

Some of the author's findings and conclusions:

1. The diverse interests of the central city, the suburbs, the special authorities, and the states in the politically fragmented metropolis produce "a competitive scramble for available resources of power." In the absence of a central government, public policies in metropolitan regions "are made (unilaterally) either by its components... or by regional surrogates -- special districts, the states, or the national government."

2. "Contributing to this lack of common goals...are the different impacts of metropolitan growth and change on various sectors of the metropolis and the partisan cleavages that divide the Democratic cities from Republican suburbs. (Metropolitan politicians, therefore,) bring to their relations with Washington differing perceptions of the federal role in regional problems, a variety of strategies...and goals ranging from federal inaction to massive assistance."

3. Like the suburbs, most urban states oppose federal involvement in urban affairs. "The states are extremely sensitive to the threat that direct federal aid poses to their role in local affairs."

4. The central city, however, "dedicated to preserving the urban core...comes to Washington with an areawide frame of reference .... The adverse impact of decentralization of the metropolis on the urban core have made the central city the major force behind the involvement of the national government in urban problems. (Its) superior capabilities, and ability to mobilize (like) interests from all parts of the nation, and a sustained interest in broadening the federal government's urban responsibilities make the central city the most influential participant in federal-metropolitan politics.... On those federal-metropolitan issues on which there is no areawide consensus, the central city will come closest to representing the regional perspective."

5. Direct federal-metropolitan ties are bound to grow. And the federal requirements for comprehensive regional planning as the price of federal grants will probably induce an evolution toward some form of metropolitan government.

Schnore, Leo F. and Robert R. Alford. "Forms of Government and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Suburbs," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 1, June 1963, pp. 1-17.

In a study of 300 suburbs, the authors discovered systematic social and economic differences between suburbs having the commission, mayor-council, and council-manager forms of government. They found that, among other characteristics, the commission-government suburbs "tend to include persons of lowest socioeconomic status and to be occupied by a slightly older population and by more members of minority groups." Half the commission cities were losing population during the 1950-1960 decade. The council-manager suburbs tend to contain younger upper middle-class and white collar, rapidly growing, more mobile white population and a somewhat higher proportion of homeowners. The mayor-council suburbs occupy a position intermediate between those with council-manager and commission forms of government.

The authors suggest "that the socio-economic character of a city may partly determine its political structure" and outline further research on the subject of their essay.

Wood, Robert C. Suburbia, Its People and Their Politics. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959. 340pp.

Unlike most authors who looked only at the "dormitory" suburb, Wood examines the several types of American suburban communities. He focuses on the history, values and consequences of their political ideology. The suburbs, he contends, do not epitomize modern culture, as others have claimed. Rather, they resist modern ideals and values. Their archaic governments cling to their political privileges and reject consolidation of metropolitan areas of which the suburbs are an integral part.

Some of the author's observations and conclusions:

1. Nostalgia for the small-town way of life persists among urban Americans. They view the suburb as a refuge from the city's anonymity, confusion and corruption, and regard suburban government as friendly, accessible and "clean." When postwar incomes rose and car ownership spread, developers exploited this dream and triggered the mass exodus of people, trade and industry to the suburbs. Public effort and funds went into suburban and highway construction instead of into urban renewal.
2. Jealously guarding their home rule, the suburbs oppose attempts at metropolitan government reform. But lacking the means to maintain urban utilities and services, they have been forced to accept a complex, inefficient network of overlapping ad-hoc inter-urban authorities.
3. The readiness, in urban sociology, to write off localism as a product of isolation and a thing of the rural past, is unwarranted. A comparison of rural and suburban residents shows that "their motivations and the way they go about ordering their social life seem to have (much) in common...." The cult of localism is rising in the suburbs where "the center of...attention turns increasingly inward."
4. The very differences between the homogeneous suburbs confirms their ability to distinguish themselves from their neighbors. "But all have those basic ingredients which foster some type of community consciousness, institutions and identity." Whereas old Americans "lived in small towns because there was no alternative; the suburbanite recreates them because he wants to, and thinks that they are good."
5. Their very fiscal problems tend to divide the suburbs. Limited by law to revenues from property taxes, they are forced to compete in attracting high-tax paying industry and commerce. Those who fail, however, are rescued by the federal and state grant-in-aid programs designed to assure the survival of needy communities. These, in turn, add another incentive to retain political independence.



6. The suburbs' political institutions, leadership and issues resemble, politically and ideologically, those of the small town, implying the growth of a new conservatism. Suburbanites tend to entrust resolution of modern technical and fiscal complexities to experts and to self-styled political activists. They show apathy in elections and withdrawal from democratic responsibilities.

7. Though metropolitan government might make suburbanites feel less comfortable, it would be more in keeping with "the values the nation has accepted." The suburbs, however, can continue to keep their autonomy if they wish. Metropolitan reform is not a likely prospect for some time to come. This is regrettable, for "when we reject the metropolis we reject the possibility of securing a cosmopolitan pattern of living...."

Greer, Scott. Metropolitics: A Study of Political Culture.  
New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1963. 207pp. Tables.

Greer examines the reflection of American political culture in the St. Louis, Cleveland and Miami campaigns for metropolitan government, and analyzes the techniques used in metropolitan politics to achieve change through persuasion. He describes "metropolitics" as a drama played out in three "morality plays." In these, the actors "are motivated by the threats and promises held forth by the opportunity and even necessity of social change implicit in the metropolitan problem," and the voters, conditioned with "programmed responses," judge what is presented to them. Each of the three "plays" -- the "Purification Ritual," "Capitalist Realism," and "Fertility and Future," -- draws attention to and judges some selected aspects of the local political-governmental scene. Each has its villains, heroes, demons, innocent bystanders, and goals.

The "Purification Ritual" or "Throw the Rascals Out!" play reflects the concern for local government by a middle class fearing the spread of blight, disease and crime from the slums and the corruption of police and politicians. It focuses on slum clearance, civic beautification and planning and on the elected officials and the political parties in the big cities. Its villains are the politicians who have used politics as a business, its heroes -- the reform candidates. Its demons are the threat of the gangster and the fear for the safety of person and property. It holds out the hope that the corrupt in public office will be replaced with the upright. Over time, it spread the belief that the political system is basically evil and should be replaced with a self-correcting bureaucracy that would expel the corrupt as it would reward the just.

The "Capitalist Realism" play (closely allied to the "Purification Ritual") describes horse-and-buggy government. Its demons are waste and inefficiency, overlapping jurisdictions, irresponsibility, confusion and incompetence in city government. Its villains are the opponents of "progress," and its heroes -- the expert governmental technicians who would run government like a business corporation. It fears high government costs for little gains, high taxes, and curtailment or breakdown of municipal services. Its ideal is to achieve rationality in government run by apolitical, conservative, businesslike professional managers.

The "Fertility and Future" play's heroes are "forward looking, aggressive civic leaders." Its promoters believe in automatic progress for all citizens and cities, but are aware "of the competition for living space among both citizens and cities." They assume "that a city can grow indefinitely, if its leaders only understand the techniques; if they fail, other cities will take its place in the sun...." To them, the quality of city life is reflected in the quantities of average income, population increase, carloadings, and bank accounts. They justify cultural facilities and amenities only as "possible stimuli for further growth." The play's villains are "those who have an unassailable position in the status quo" and resist change. The demons are the fears of the city's decline in national rank, of a shrinking market, and of physical obsolescence.

Greer, Scott. Governing the Metropolis. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962. 153pp.

In his summary of studies on, and analysis of, politics and government in the metropolitan area, Greer:

1. Reviews the history of American cities.
2. Reviews technological change and growing scale in business and government, and the impact of these changes on cities and their dwellers.
3. Explains population division by income and ethnic group, and the role of the housing market as an allocator of homes, neighborhoods, and population densities in the metropolitan area on the basis of income and social status.
4. Defines the social mechanisms that maintain order among the city's "mass of heterogeneous types...(which) teems with conflict and hums with tension."
5. Reviews the history of American local government: the imposition of state will upon the cities; the causes, functions, and results of political-boss rule in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and the reasons for its decline.

6. Traces the growth of suburbs and defines the differences between them and the cities in population, physical plant, government structure, and political process; describes the interdependence of city and suburbs under conditions of divided government.

Among Greer's conclusions:

1. Despite the governmental dichotomy between cities and suburbs, "the metropolis is in little danger of a breakdown (partly because) within the straitjacket of democratic ideology and the (federal and state) constitutions, there is room to maneuver." Metropolitan government is being substituted, even if inefficiently, with a system of ad hoc government bodies.

2. If the present course of development in the metropolitan areas continues, then:

a) The privileged whites will continue to suburbanize, and the proliferation of suburbs will turn the metropolitan area into a region.

b) The center will house ever more people of the lower half of the income range and those who prefer urbane living.

c) Decentralization will continue. The suburbs will increasingly become the exclusive home of the middle- and upper-income groups and the locus of trade. Even the public arts (theater, ballet, museums) might decentralize. The center will specialize increasingly in economic activities that require face-to-face contacts or an areawide market. It will serve ever more as the interchange center, the crossroads of superhighways knitting the metropolis together. In economic and social functions "the city will continue to recede as the overwhelming force of the metropolitan area" and will become "one differentiated area of residence and work, equal among equals...."

d) The city's working class and ethnic groups will live in neighborhoods ranging from slums to gray areas. Its government will probably stress conservation of existing physical facilities rather than redevelopment. It will concentrate on housing, police, education and services for non-whites who are rapidly becoming the city's largest voting block.

e) The city's property tax, now declining in importance, will be increasingly supplemented by the income tax. "The suburbanite, who uses the city for his livelihood (will be forced to pay) a share of the maintenance."

f) Landlocked by neighboring domains and unable to expand their resources, the suburbs will rely ever more on massive federal aid. As their burdens increase, they may try to attract high-tax-yield industry and commerce.

3. The physical, social and political scatteration in the metropolitan area spells "a separation of control and planning centers and, therefore, a foreswearing of the possibility of politically or technically rational policy...the multiplying suburbs (therefore) cause a drift of power upwards to the highest level, the federal bureaucracies."

4. "We cannot believe in a wide distribution of power, and therefore of freedom, and at the same time insist upon a rigorous control of the future...this frequently means that we all cooperate in producing something that nobody wants."

Gulick, Luther. "Metropolitan Organization." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 314, November 1957, pp. 57-65.

The rapid growth of metropolitan areas creates financial, managerial and political problems for their municipalities. To cope with these problems, four political innovations are proposed: new state-government departments for local affairs with a "metropolitan desk"; reconstruction of metropolitan counties; open-ended metropolitan service agencies; and a new layer of regional government -- the metropolitan council.

Wood, Robert C. Metropolis Against Itself. New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1959. 56pp.

Wood considers the response of local governments to metropolitan problems and their capacity to solve them. He explains how small governments may provide the complex services and facilities that modern communities require, but he questions the ability of "a large number of essentially service oriented governments" to effectively guide the growth of a metropolitan region.

The author concludes that "given their present structure and philosophy," local governments can continue to meet local community needs but cannot make metropolis-wide policy. The people in metropolitan areas and the states will profoundly affect the course of regional economic development in their choice to either retain the autonomy of local governments or to establish new metropolitan governments able to comprehensively plan land use, transportation and redevelopment on a regional scale.

Jones, Victor. Metropolitan Government. Preface by Charles Merriam. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. 364pp. Charts. A list of bibliographies.

The fusion of settlements in metropolitan areas requires unified transportation; integrated traffic control; area-wide zoning; regional development of park and recreation facilities; co-ordinated water supply and sewage disposal networks, school systems, police and fire protection, distribution of housing, health administration; and regional land-use controls. But in the United States, the need to reconcile between outmoded city, town, suburban, county, and local-district administrations complicates introduction of metropolitan government.

Jones reveals the complexity of legal administrations in metropolitan areas; analyzes the legal inventions proposed or tried to coordinate between them; and arrays the pro and con arguments about urban integration in general and in specific instances. He explains the inner dynamics of metropolitan economic, population, and governmental development; briefly surveys the rise of metropolitan communities in Europe and in the United States; and describes the effect upon urban life of the present profusion of local governmental units. He identifies the social groups who favor and oppose metropolitan integration; analyzes their interests and reasons; and describes the tactics of politicians who straddle the integration issue.

"Judging the future by the past," Jones sees little hope for establishment of metropolitan governments in the foreseeable future because "in many states...impediment to integration has been frozen into the state constitutions or statutes," and the still workable device of ad hoc districts postpones the development of crises in metropolitan areas. But he sees progress in "the slowly increasing consciousness of the existence of a metropolitan area and the expanding recognition of many interconnected problems that transcend the boundaries of the central city or any of its suburbs."

Martin, Roscoe C. The Cities and the Federal System. New York: Atherton Press, 1965. 200pp.

Martin examines the operation of the American federal system and the relations between the federal, state and city governments. In practice, if not in theory, he argues, the cities have become a third partner in the system although the latter was originally designed as a partnership of the national and state governments only. Thus the federal system proved itself flexible and able to adjust to new political demands.

The author describes the current social and economic trends in American cities and their impact on state and federal policies. The problems caused by the nation's change into a metro-urban society, and the inability or refusal of the states to cope with them, had forced the cities to claim a place in the federal system. Out-moded and inflexible, state constitutions hinder state governments in dealing with the needs of surging cities; laden with unrepresentative legislatures, limited by old mythology, and lacking adequate resources, the states cannot evolve new and bold programs equal to the task.

The federal government, however, has recognized the complex problems of the cities and has taken a hand in their solution. The cooperation between the cities and the federal government, widened since 1932, takes place through the medium of federal grant-in-aids to cities -- "a device by which a program of both urban and national significance is undertaken by the cities with the technical assistance and financial support of the national government."

Willburn, York. The Withering Away of the City. University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1964. 139pp.

In a group of five essays, Willburn explores the problem of effective government in tomorrow's urban America. He reports, describes and analyzes the changes in local government and the recommendations made for governmental reforms that have followed urban changes. The first essay describes "The Transformation of the Urban Community." The second reviews the last decade's foremost works on cities dealing with "The Metropolitan Predicament." The third examines the "Responses to the Challenge of Urban Change"; it lists, and briefly discusses, the expressions of different group and class interests, reveals their assumptions and their conflicts with the interests and assumptions of other groups. The fourth describes the "Creeping Transitions in Local Government" forced by the changes in metropolitan areas. And the fifth looks into "The Urban Political Market Place."

Some of the author's salient conclusions and comments:

1. American cities and towns face no governmental crisis. Their problems and burdens are well within the tolerance limits of American prosperity. But many inefficient small governments in metropolitan areas are withering away at an accelerating rate. Though they manage to provide urban citizens with a fair living environment, and may continue to do so for some time to come, their continued existence is socially costly and wasteful."
2. The efforts to check and reverse immigration from the central cities to the suburbs through mass-transport improvement and urban renewal may only retard the movement but not stop it. "The overwhelming bulk of evidence makes the outward movement seem...inexorable."
3. As "the technology of settlement and interchange" develops, the utility of the physical capital amassed in the central city diminishes. This great capital slows adaptation to technological innovation. But the high profitability of new investments in the metropolitan outskirts makes up for losses in the old. This and the increasing physical and psychological mobility of urbanites permits mass relocation "in better conformity to the technological patterns of the present and the future. There seems to be little to block an endless expansion of urban and semi-urban ways of life over vast areas of the countryside outside our traditional city limits.... The more urban we become, the more shaky becomes the concept and reality of the city." But this movement, whose full implications are still unclear, overburdens the many small, out-moded governments with a massive demand for public services traditionally supplied by the city.

4. Advocacies to restore old municipal units to their earlier prominence, or to develop independent communities in the suburbs, or to impose a metropolitan government upon the cities and suburbs are too simple. They overlook the values and goals of most urban Americans and the difficulties in their realization. Further urbanization will probably continue, for a time, to proliferate piecemeal accommodation within the existing governmental framework, extend intergovernmental cooperation, and increasingly involve state and federal governments in various urban programs. The governmental pattern in metropolitan regions will become more fluid and diverse, but it will evolve in tune with the peculiar traditions of the American people.

Webster, Donald H. Urban Planning and Municipal Public Policy. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958. 572pp.

A comprehensive work on urban planning methodology and the legal, political and governmental aspects of planning. Webster's basic premise is that effective city planning depends on the planners' thorough knowledge of the governmental system and the policy makers' appreciation of the scope and nature of planning.

The first of the book's four parts deals with planning within the framework of American government: planning as a basis for government action; political concepts influencing planning procedures and public policies; the units of local government and the problems of metropolitan government; the organization of the planning agency and its program and procedures. The second part discusses physical planning and community development, and the comprehensive planning of municipal services and programs. The third part outlines the means of plan implementation. And the fourth considers the future of planning.

Swanson, Bert E. "The Concern for Community in the Metropolis," Urban Affairs, Vol. 1, No. 4, June 1966, pp. 33-44.

The sense and fact of community are important, Swanson thinks, for they encourage citizens with local interests to examine and express their needs, articulate them, and play out their roles in an eventual and total plan for the future metropolis. In this role playing process, the citizen "will not lose his identity as an American or a human, but he needs the conceptual building blocks which more accurately reflect the interstitial layers between himself and the rest of mankind.... One basic means to learn about his multidimensional nature is participation...in the decision-making process through some civic project or program."

Swanson briefly reviews philosophical and sociological thought on "community" from Aristotle to date, and the concepts of "community" in American history.

Because of its large scale and complexity, Swanson observes, today's city government has lost its democratic contact with the people. It is plagued by "experts who show signs of eliticism and loss of personal empathy for those affected by their decision." To overcome this, Swanson suggests "structural means for communication centers -- such as local planning boards and little city halls...--(that would) call forth a dialogue on the ends which urbanites prefer. One without the other," thinks Swanson, "provides the basis for a pseudo-community and the adoption of totalitarianism and an end to democracy."

Robson, William Alexander, Editor. Great Cities of the World: Their Government, Politics and Planning. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1954. 693pp. Illustrated. Photos. Maps. Charts. Diagrams. Tables. Selected bibliography.

The work, a collection of 1950-1953 essays, surveys and examines seventeen great world cities, describes their government, and tells how they confront common problems and what steps they take to overcome them. The essayists "explain the working of each municipality, how its elective and executive organs are organized, the kind of political forces which motivate their activities, the scope and character of the municipal services, how they are financed, what are the relations between the great city and the state or national government, to what extent the machinery is adequate or obsolete, and what effect...planning is having on the great metropolis."

The volume is divided in two parts. In the first, Robson discusses "The Great City of Today" -- its constitutional features, forms of government, the services it renders, its special problems, its politics, relations with higher authorities, its finances, its planning, and its future prospects. The second describes in detail the cities of Amsterdam, Buenos Aires, Chicago, Copenhagen, London, Los Angeles, Manchester, Montreal and Toronto, Moscow, New York, Paris, Rio de Janeiro, Rome, Stockholm, Sydney, Wellington and Zurich.



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Use of zoning by suburban governments to exclude "undesirables" and its effects on the metropolitan region.

Banfield, Edward C., Editor. Urban Governments: A Reader in Politics and Administration. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1969. 718pp. Annotated bibliography. Glossary.

A collection of sixty-nine essays grouped into eight sections, each introduced by the editor, analyzing the process and problems of urban government.

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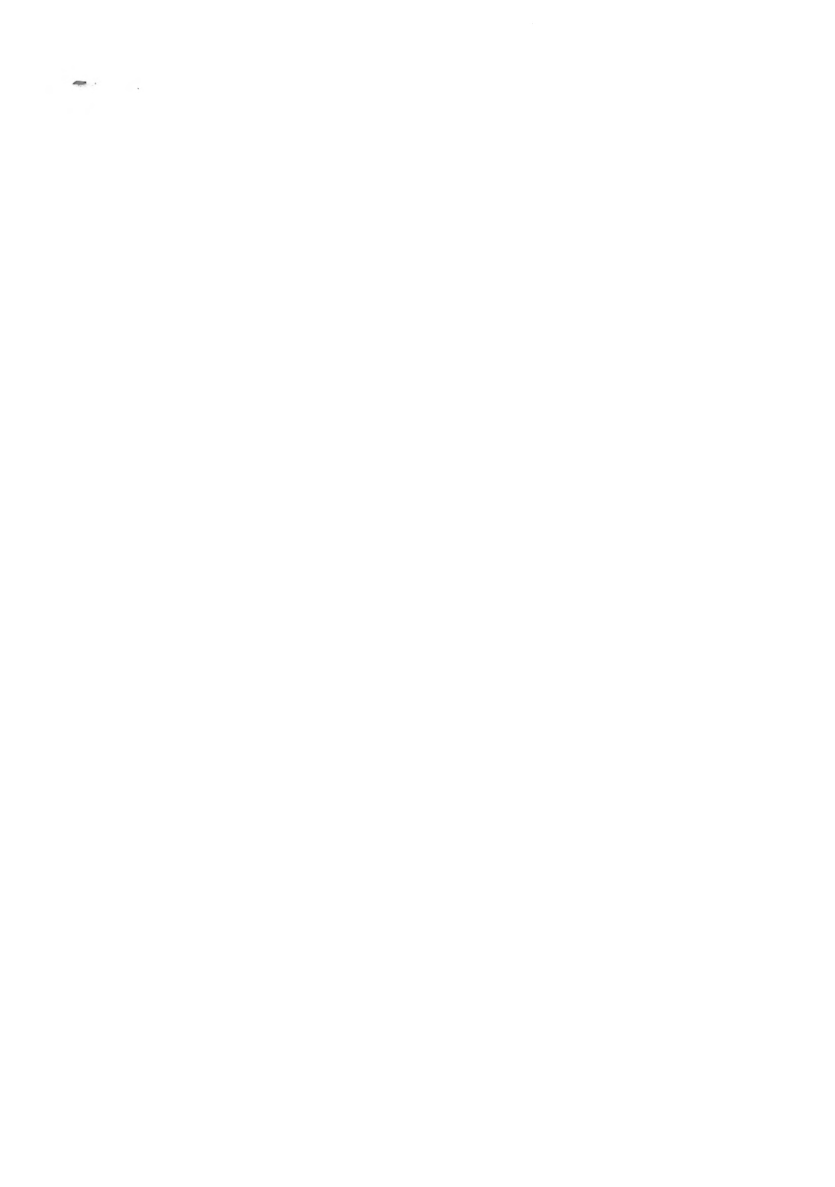
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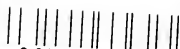






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